

On Future ‘Finite’ Participles in Azerbaijani*

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In this article, I will investigate the morpho-syntactic characteristics of the future-tensed participle, the verbal form that includes the future tense suffix in Azerbaijani. It is not clear whether the future participle in the language originally had finiteness; neither is it clear whether it is an inflected word or an independent word, i.e., a word derived from the verb. I argue that a descriptive framework that allows cross-categorical classification between nouns, adjectives, and verbs, and which applies the so-called ‘null’ copula proposed by Kornfilt (1996) for Turkish to Azerbaijani, accounts for both finite and non-finite participles as a single lexeme. Although there are three types of tense in Azerbaijani, i.e., past, present, and future, this article concludes that the future tense is not an inflectional category: the definite past and present tense in the language are obviously inflectional categories, but the future tense happens to be realized as a participle derived from the verbal lexeme.

Keywords: participles, derivation, lexeme class, Azerbaijani

1. Problems related to the Azerbaijani future ‘finite’ participle
2. Several assumptions for explaining the Azerbaijani participles
3. Analysis of the future finite tensed form in Azerbaijani
4. Conclusion

1. Problems related to the Azerbaijani future ‘finite’ participle

Azerbaijani belongs to the southwest Turkic language group, and in many aspects the grammatical structure of the language is similar to Turkish, belongs to the same language group. As in other Turkic languages, Azerbaijani has agglutinative morphology in which two or more suffixes can be attached to the stem of a word, and typical head-final syntactic

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patterns in syntax. The aim of this article is to investigate the so-called ‘future finite participle’ verbal form that contains the *-(y)AcAQ* suffix (hereafter I will call this the ‘FFT suffix’) in Azerbaijani, as exemplified in (1): the verbal form with this FFT suffix is the unmarked future-tensed form in the language.

- (1) a. Mən kino-ya ged-əcəy=(0)=əm.
 I-Nom cinema-Dat go-Fut=(Cop)=1sg
 ‘I will go to the cinema.’
- b. Sən kino-ya ged-əcək=(0)=sən.
 you-Nom cinema-Dat go-Fut-(Cop)=2sg
 ‘You will go to the cinema.’
- c. O kino-ya ged-əcək.
 he/she-Nom cinema-Dat go-Fut
 ‘He/She will go to the cinema.’
- d. Biz kino-ya ged-əcəy=(0)=ik.
 we-Nom cinema-Dat go-Fut=(Cop)=1pl
 ‘We will go to the cinema.’
- e. Siz kino-ya ged-əcək=(0)=siniz.
 you(pl)-Nom cinema-Dat go-Fut=(Cop)=2pl
 ‘You will go to the cinema.’
- f. Onlar kino-ya ged-əcək-lər.
 they-Nom cinema-Dat go-Fut-3pl
 ‘They will go to the cinema.’

The problem arises when we see other examples in which the same verbal form is used as a participle, like in (2).¹ As I mention further below, the point is that when the verb form with the FFT functions as a participle that modifies a noun, then the verb form may be followed by a possessive suffix (e.g., *-ım* in (2a)) corresponding to the person (as a grammatical category) of its verb. Taking a possessive suffix in Azerbaijani means that the word has a nominal and adjectival properties, which is evident from example (2b), in which the noun *kitab* takes the first person singular possessive suffix. In addition, the future-tensed verb form also has a nominal function, which is exemplified in (2c). In that case, the future-tensed form takes not only a possessive suffix, but also a case suffix.

¹ The final consonant of the FFT changes depending on the adjacent vowel: if two vowels before the final consonant are front vowels, then the consonant is {y}, and if they are back, then the consonant will be {ğ}.

- (2) a. mən-im oxu-yacağ-ım kitab
 1sg-Gen read-Fut-1sg book
 ‘The book which I will read’
- b. mən-im kitab-ım
 1sg-Gen book-1sg
 ‘My book’
- c. Öz-üm-ə yeni ev al-acağ-ım-ı yalnız ana-m
 self-1sg-Dat new house buy-Fut-1sg-Acc only mother-1sg
 bil-ir.
 know-Pres
 ‘Only my mother knows that I will buy a new house for myself.’
 (Abdullayeva et al: 2011: 198)
- d. Mən dost-um-u axtar-ır=am. (Öztopçu 2012: 106)
 1sg friend-1sg-Acc look for-Pres-1sg
 ‘I am looking for my friend.’

Our concern, then, is that the verb form with a future tense suffix may be both a finite predicate and a participle.

This article argues that the words that contain a FFT suffix can be analyzed in the same way, regardless of whether the word is used as a finite predicate or as a non-finite participle, by applying the so-called ‘null’ copula (i.e., a copula that does not have any surface form), suggested by Kornfilt (1996) for Turkish, to Azerbaijani. The definition of a finite verb follows Nikolaeva (2007) in this article, namely that a finite verb refers to a particular person who is the ‘do-er’ of the predicate within the single predicate. This also means that the do-er of the predicate is not always represented by an inflectional suffix; in several cases the do-er is indicated by a pronominal clitic, and this is why I argue that there is a copula that is responsible for finiteness. Considering the earlier example in (1a), the word *gedəcəy* is, I argue, actually a participle, followed by a null copula that is responsible for its finiteness. In this line of analysis, I assume that there is a single lexeme as a participle, independent of the verbal lexeme; in addition, the participle and the verbal lexeme share many properties with each other, such as having syntactic arguments and verbal meaning.

A handful of suffixes are parts of the participle in Azerbaijani. The main suffixes that are attached to Azerbaijani verbs are listed in (3) below. This list follows the suffixes in Turkish listed by Kazama (2003), and also follows Kartallıoğlu and Yıldırım (2008: 212–214).

- (3) a. Infinitive: *-maq* (e.g. *gəlmək* ‘to come’, *almaq* ‘to get’)
 b. Tense-aspect finite suffixes: *-dı*, *-ır*, *-ər*

c. Converbs: *-(y)A*, *-(y)ArAQ*, *-(y)Ib*, *-(y)AndA*, *-(y)AndAn*, *-dIQcA*, *-mAdAn*, *-mAzdAn*, *-cAQ*, *-All* ‘since...’, *-(y)Ar -mAz* ‘as soon as...’,

d. Converbial nominal suffix: *-(y)IncA* (it is nominal when the word including this suffix is syntactically headed by the postposition *qədər*, as in *bitincəyə qədər* ‘till (it) ends’)

e. Converbial suffix: *-sA*

f. Adjectival and nominal suffixes: *-(y)An*, *-dIQ*, *-mAz*, *-Ar*, *-mAll*, *-AsI*

g. Adjectival and finite suffix: *-mIş*

h. Adjectival, nominal, and finite suffix: *-(y)AcAQ*

This article is especially concerned with the similarities and differences between (3f), (3g), and (3h). Words with these suffixes inevitably have adjectival properties, and these are often called ‘participles’, which not only have adjectival but also verbal properties. The problem lies in the lexeme-classes of these participles, their finiteness, and (accordingly) the existence of the so-called ‘null’ copula proposed by Kornfilt (1996). It is controversial how finiteness is defined in Turkish and, as we shall see, in Azerbaijani. For example, Göksel and Kerslake (2005: 73) define finite verbs as verbal forms that contain a person marker. Kornfilt (1996), on the other hand, assumes finite verb forms that contain an inflectional person suffix rather than a pronominal clitic. Kornfilt’s (1996) assumption is advantageous for explaining the default accent position in the language because in general the word stress is put on the word-final syllable, and for offering an account to explain verbal forms that occur as both finite or nonfinite forms. In this article, I follow Kornfilt’s (1996) assumption, and argue that the null copula exists in many types of tense/aspect/modality (hereafter TAM) forms in Azerbaijani, except for the definite past form *-dI* listed in (3b) above and the converbial suffix *-sA* in (3e).

The first problem to consider is that the participles containing the suffixes in (3f) have a nominal function in addition to adjectival properties; namely, these suffixes can mark the nominal predicate of the main clause, or can be attached to the case suffix, as exemplified in (4) below.

- (4) a. Qalib gəl-ən ən uzun müddət
 conqueror come-Part most long time
 davam ed-ən=dir.
 continuation do-Part=Cop
 ‘The winner will be the person who continue to do (something).’²
- b. Mən-ə məktub yaz-an-ı tanı-m-ır=am.
 I-Dat letter write-Part-Acc know-Neg-Pres=1sg

² This example was found on the following website: <https://baxili.ru/az/buhgalteriya/veselye-igry-dlya-netrezvoi-kompanii-novogodnie-zastolnye-rolevy.html> (Accessed: 2020-03-11)

'I don't know the person who wrote me the letter.' (Öztopçu 2012: 241)

Participles naturally have adjectival properties at the same time, which is evident from ordinary examples like (5) below, in which head nouns are modified by participles.

- (5) a. Tərcümə ol-un-acaq bu metn-də çətin ifadə-lər
 translation be-Pass-Fut this article-Loc difficult expression
 çox=dur.
 many=Cop
 'There are lots of expressions in this article to be translated.'
 (Abdurreyeva et al. 2011: 198)
- b. Azərbaycan dil-i-ni öyrən-ən tələbə-lər-ə lüğət
 Azerbaijani language-3sg-Acc study-Part student-Plu-Dat dictionary
 lazım=dır.
 necessary=Cop
 'A dictionary is necessary for students who study Azerbaijani.'
 (Abdurreyeva et al. 2011: 192)
- c. Sən-ə ver-diy-im hədiyyə-ni beğen-di-n?
 2sg-Dat give-Part-1sg present-Acc like-Past-2sg
 'Did you like the present I gave you?' (Abdurreyeva et al. 2011: 194)

In each example in (5), the participle (*olunacaq* in (5a), *öyrənən* in (5b), and *verdiyim* in (5c)) modifies its head noun, and in this sense participles function as adjectives, while maintaining their verbal properties, i.e., having syntactic and semantic arguments. In (5b) and (5c), for example, both participles *öyrənən* and *verdiyim* have the nouns *dilini* and *sənə* as their respective syntactic arguments.

Moreover, participles can take a personal suffix that actually indicates the agent of that verb. The fact that the case suffix or the personal suffix may be attached suggests that participles can also function as nominals, as exemplified in (6) below. The nominal properties of the participles in (6a) and (6b) are clear: in (6a), the future-tensed verbal *deyəcəyim* is marked with the first person singular personal possessive suffix, i.e., *-im*, and in (6b), the participle *olduğunu* is marked with the accusative case suffix, *-nu* (including an epenthetic *n*).

- (6) a. De-yəcəy-im söz-ü de-mə-di-m.
 say-Fut-1sg word-Acc say-Neg-Past-1sg
 'I did not say what I would say.' (Hüseynzadə 2007: 188)

- b. Bura-dan uzaqlaş-maq və başqa yer-lər-də
 here-Abl move away-VN and other place-Plu-Loc
 nə-lər ol-duğ-u-nu bil-mək istə-yir=əm.
 what-Plu be-Part-3sg-Acc know-VN want-Pres=1sg
 ‘I want to move away from here and know what there is in other places.’
 (Bəhrəngi 2014: 9)

The Participles in the subordinate clause are not always finite, in the sense that they do not take the same personal endings as the verbal predicate of the main clause. We see in (7) below that, even though there are several types of subordinate clause predicates, some of them may be considered finite as in (7b), with the complementizer *ki*. In many cases the subordinate clause predicate is non-finite, as in *olduğuma* in (7a): the participle takes the first singular suffix *-um* that is attached to the nominal. The verbal predicate *gəlmişəm* in (7b), on the other hand, takes a pronominal clitic that attaches to finite verbal predicates rather than attaching to participles. This can be observed with other verbal predicates in (7a) and (7b): the first singular pronominal clitic *-əm* in *çəkirəm* in (7a) is the same form as the one in the *gəlmişəm*; in contrast, the other predicates *ged-im* and *tap-ım* in (7b) have the inflectional suffix *-im*, rather than pronominal clitics.

- (7) a. Siz-in-lə qonşu ol-duğ-um-a xəcalet çək-ir=əm!
 you-Gen-Com neighbour be-Part-1sg-Dat shame take-Pres=1sg
 ‘I am ashamed of being your neighbour!’ (*Balaca Qala Balıq*: 16)
- b. Belə qərar-a gəl-miş-əm ki, özüm ged-im,
 like this decision-Dat come-Indirect Past that self-1sg go-Opt:1sg
 arx-ın qurtar-acağ-ı-nı tap-ım.
 river-Gen end-Fut-3sg-Acc find-Opt: 1sg
 ‘I decided that I would go and find the river’s end.’ (*Balaca Qala Balıq*: 9)

Table 1 demonstrates the formal difference between pronominal suffixes that attach to nominals and pronominal clitics that attach to verbal predicates. The problem arises when we consider the verbal forms with the suffixes in (3h) above, because the FFT form may take not only a nominal suffix as a participle that is non-finite, but also a pronominal clitic as a finite verb.

Table 1 The paradigm of personal endings in Azerbaijani

| person/number | personal suffixes | pronominal clitics |
|---------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1sg | <i>-Im</i> | <i>-(y)Am</i> |
| 2sg | <i>-In</i> | <i>-sAn</i> |
| 3sg | <i>-(s)l</i> | (N/A) |
| 1pl | <i>-ImIz</i> | <i>-(y)IQ</i> |
| 2pl | <i>-InIz</i> | <i>-sInIz</i> |
| 3pl | <i>-lAlI</i> | <i>-lAr</i> |

In this respect, participles other than the FFT form are less problematic, because participles accompanied by each suffix in (3f), for example, can always be treated as non-finite; thus they are always able to take a nominal suffix.³ Likewise, participles with the perfective suffix in (3g) are always finite, and these participles are followed by a pronominal suffix rather than a possessive suffix. To sum up, the problem is whether we should treat the participle and the finite verbal form as different forms from each other, or offer an analysis that treats these forms as identical, and explain the finiteness in some way.

Another problem concerning the finiteness of the FFT form relates to the morpho-syntactic characteristics of participle forms, e.g., the suffixes in (3f), (3g), and (3h). Specifically, this problem relates to the boundary between derivation and inflection, and determining whether participles belongs to the verb class or another word class. First, the distinction between derivation and inflection will be addressed. At first glance, participles may be considered inflectional forms of a certain lexeme, which are realized according to their TAM category. In this line of analysis, these forms are treated as ‘genuine’ verbs, i.e., word forms which are realized with a certain verbal lexeme, rather than participles that are derivational and independent words of the verbal lexeme. Second, the problem concerning lexeme classes is important because it determines whether we accept a cross-categorical taxonomy or introduce independent lexeme classes such as ‘participle’, or ‘verbal noun’ as suggested by Kageyama (1993).

In summary, the most complicated form in Azerbaijani is clearly the FFT form, as it has both finite and non-finite forms; it is not clear whether it is the inflectional form of a single verbal lexeme or an independent word form of the participle, independent of the verbal lexeme; and it is distributed among nouns, adjectives, and verbs. In the next section, I offer an analysis in which there is a lexical relationship between ‘pure’ verbs and participles, and in which both finite and non-finite participles are treated as realizations of a single lexeme of a participle, by introducing the ‘null’ copula (Kornfilt 1996) which is responsible for determining finiteness.

³ However, the *-Ar* suffix, which is parallel to the finite aorist form, does not take a nominal suffix when the participle including that suffix functions as a non-finite participle.

2. Several assumptions for explaining the Azerbaijani participles

In the previous section, I presented several issues related to the so-called future ‘finite’ participle in Azerbaijani. The first problem is that it is not clear whether the participle itself is always finite, as, for example, Kazama (2003) describes. The second problem is that it is not clear whether the participle form itself is the inflected form of a lexeme (i.e., of an abstract dictionary word which speakers of Azerbaijani are thought to store in their linguistic knowledge), as the verb’s future-tensed form, or whether the participle itself is a separate lexeme, independent of the verbal lexeme. Finally, the participle in question shares many properties with ordinary verbs, nouns, and even adjectives. In this section, I will offer an analysis which explains the morpho-syntactic properties of the FFT form correctly; this analysis is applicable regardless of whether the FFT functions as finite or non-finite.

2.1 The lexical relationship between words and their realizations

One of the problems observed thus far is whether to consider non-finite verbs, including participles, to be words derived from their base lexeme or to be various word-forms of a single lexeme. Let us take (8) as an example:

- (8) a. Biz gəz-mey-i sev-ir=ik.
 we-Nom walk-Inf-Acc like-Pres-1pl
 ‘We like to walk.’
- b. Mən dünya-yı gəz-mək istə-yir=əm.
 I-Nom world-Acc trip-Inf want-Pres-1sg
 ‘I want to travel all over the world.’
- c. Mən [sən-in Yaponiya-nı gəz-diy-in]-ə çox sevin-di-m.
 I-Nom you-Gen Japan-Acc trip-Part-2sg-Dat very pleased-Past-1sg
 ‘I am so pleased that you traveled to Japan.’
- d. [Naxçıvan-da gəz-il-əcək] yer-lər var?
 Nakhchivan-Loc trip-Pass-Fut place-Plu exist
 ‘Are there places to go sightseeing?’

The question raised here is whether or not all non-finite verbs in example (8) are realized as inflectional forms of a shared lexeme GƏZ-. As observed in (8a) and (8b), the verbal nouns *gəz-mey-i* and *gəz-mək* may be realizations of the single lexeme GƏZ-, or another lexeme, GƏZMƏK. The answer is that they should be considered word forms of an independent lexeme because verbal nouns such as GƏZMƏ and GƏZMƏK allow a case suffix to be attached, and they themselves can be used as the object of another verb, which means that they have at least some nominal characteristics. It is clear that these nominal

characteristics come from the general category of ‘noun’ rather than ‘verb’; thus we must account for the nominal aspects of verbal nouns.

My proposal for a description of Azerbaijani non-finite verbs, including verbal nouns and participles, is to distinguish the concept of ‘lexeme’, a relatively abstract concept that may be realized according to the type of inflection, from that of ‘form’, a relatively concrete concept that almost always has a sound-form (cf. Hudson 2007). Figure 1 is an example of the conceptual network analysis proposed by Hudson’s Word Grammar (Hudson 2007, 2010) for the Azerbaijani lexemes GƏZ-, GƏZMƏ, and GƏZMƏK:

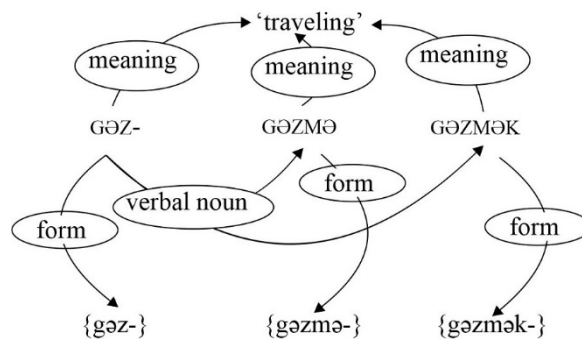


Fig. 1 A conceptual network of related lexemes GƏZ-, GƏZMƏ, and GƏZMƏK

Another possible analysis is to regard *gəzmə* and *gəzmək* as realizations of a shared lexeme, GƏZ-. If we recognize such a lexical relation, the network would be illustrated slightly differently than in Figure 1, *mutatis mutandis*. This line of analysis is based on the fact that all remaining inflectional forms of the lexeme GƏZ- and other verbal forms share the same lexical meaning, which may be described as ‘traveling’. Still, it is worth pointing out that several verbal nouns, such as ÇAXMAQ, are recognized to be independent lexemes (cf. Hüseyinzadə 1985, 2007: 182).

Whether or not we rely on a specific theoretical framework (e.g., Word Grammar) in describing Azerbaijani verbs is not the main point here; rather, our concern is how to account for derivation and inflection in an integrated way. Figure 1 demonstrates one example for such an analysis, so those who assume that non-finite verbs derive from the basic lexeme must explain the lexical relations between them in an appropriate way.

To sum up, there is no clear criterion of distinction between derivation and inflection in accounting for Azerbaijani non-finite verbs. The same problem occurs with verbal agglutination: it is not easy to distinguish which suffixes are derivational and which are inflectional. It is argued here, however, that this issue depends on the describer’s perspective in terms of linguistic categories. Once the describer limits the range of derivation, the range of inflection is then also automatically fixed. Once we define derivation as the lexical relations between individual lexemes, and inflection as a realization

relation between a lexeme and its actual word-form, we can explain these relations in this way.

2.2 On the treatment of lexeme-classes

Another issue related to Azerbaijani non-finite verbs is how many lexeme-classes there are. We have observed that participles function as both nouns and adjectives, while maintaining some of the properties of verbs. Parallel to participles, so-called verbal nouns may also be problematic, with respect to whether they should be recognized as nouns or adjectives. Or another possibility is that they do not belong to either, but to yet another lexeme-class labeled ‘verbal nouns’ (cf. Kageyama 1993). However, if we apply this idea too naively, we may require too many lexeme-classes such as ‘converb’, ‘participle’, etc. as listed in (3) earlier in this article. One problem with recognizing too many lexeme-classes is that it undermines the properties common to other verbal forms and other lexeme classes. For example, if we employ a new lexeme-class ‘adjectival verbal noun’ for participles, then we inevitably must explain the similarities and differences between this new lexeme-class and the other classes, namely nouns, adjectives, and even verbs.

As the examples thus far indicate, the grammatical function and verb form in Azerbaijani do not demonstrate a clear-cut correspondence to each other, which may also be the case in other Turkic languages. In the classical categorical viewpoint, for example, a member of one category cannot belong to another category. Accordingly, if we were to accept this viewpoint for describing Azerbaijani verbal forms, then we would need to conclude that several categories of verbal forms will be necessary. Another approach for recognizing verbal forms is based on the so-called prototypical viewpoint that has been introduced in many cognitive linguistic approaches. From this perspective, a verbal does not necessarily belong to only one general category; it may belong to two or more categories as its super-categories. Participles, for example, not only belong to the categories of verbs, but also of nouns, and even adjectives. One approach based on this view is the conceptual network model proposed by Hudson (2007, 2010), in which a concept has a model-instance relation with another general category, called an isA-relation (Hudson 2010: 12), which is assumed to be the method of classification for many kinds of categories that the speaker has. In other words, each concept is an instance of another concept that is more general; for example, the word *pışik* ‘cat’ in Azerbaijani, is an instance of the more general category, i.e., nouns, so within the framework of isA-relation, we can say that *pışik* isA noun. This idea also allows each concept to have two or more isA-relations with other general categories. A simplified small network for the Azerbaijani non-finite verbs like GƏZMƏ, GƏZMƏK, and GƏZƏCƏK can be illustrated as in Figure 2, where straight lines indicate model-instance relations between lexeme-classes and individual lexemes, balloons indicate the properties of each

lexeme-class, and curved lines represent the lexical relations between the lexemes concerned:⁴

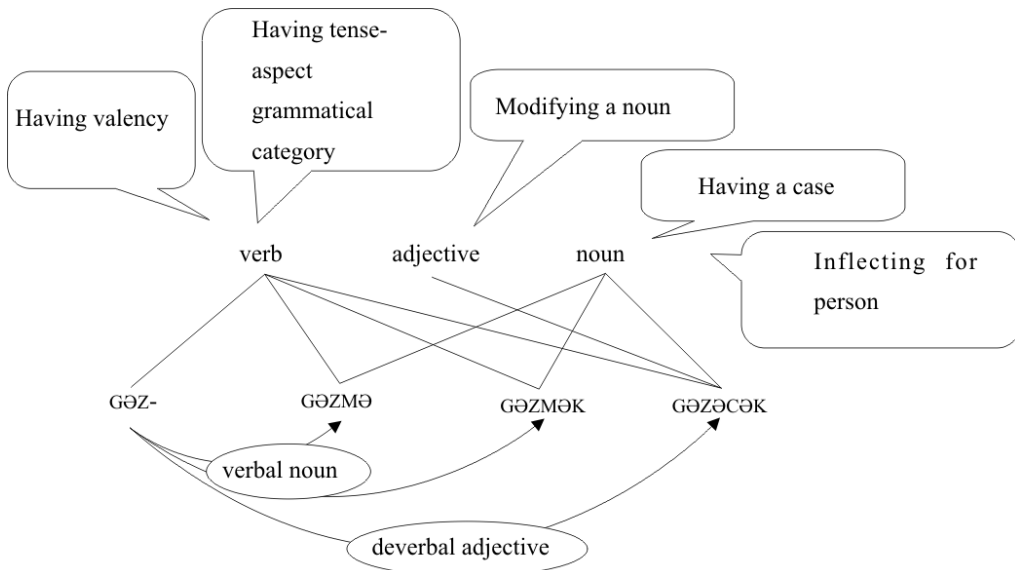


Fig. 2 A Small Network Concerning Lexemes and General Categories⁵

As seen in Figure 2, each word is regarded as an independent lexeme, maintaining lexical relationships with each other, e.g., GƏZƏCƏK is a deverbal adjective of another verb with a simple stem GƏZ-, and the infinitive verb GƏZMƏK is a verbal noun of GƏZ-. Another crucial point is that verbal forms should best be recognized as cross-categorial, which means that they inherit any properties of verbs and of non-verbal categories simultaneously. By allowing multiple categories, it is possible to argue that a participle has nominal, adjectival, and verbal properties. In addition, by recognizing lexical relations, we would be able to explain the similarities among words in terms of both the formal and semantic characteristics; when lexemes share the same stem in morphology and the same lexical

⁴ As elsewhere in this paper, lexemes are indicated by small capitals.

⁵ For convenience, this diagram omits the triangles that depict the isA relation between general and specific categories in terms of Hudson's own theory, Word Grammar (Hudson 2007, 2010, among others). Again, whether we support this theory or not is not crucial here; the point is that specific lexemes such as GƏZMƏ, GƏZMƏK, and GƏZƏCƏK belong to multiple general categories simultaneously, allowing us to successfully explain their properties, such as having syntactic arguments, being able to modify a noun, and having a case and personal suffix.

One might oppose the proposal of such a lexical relationship between these lexemes, because in this view too many lexemes must be recognized in a speaker's mind. I argue that this is not a problem for the theory because in reality, we know so many words as part of our linguistic knowledge. In addition, the similarities in terms of lexical meaning and the lexical relationship between co-related lexemes can also be easily illustrated as in Figure 1 above. However, a discussion of the number of words in a speaker's mind is beyond the scope of this article; the point here is that we can explain any lexical properties of general categories such as verbs, adjectives, nouns, and even adverbs by assuming that a speaker classifies lexemes cross-categorially.

meaning in semantics, their relations can be described according to, for example, the conceptual networks between them.

2.3 The ‘null’ copula hypothesis in Azerbaijani

2.3.1 The Turkish ‘null’ copula in a nutshell

As mentioned earlier, Kornfilt (1996) argues that there is a linguistic formative whose morphological shape happens to be unrealized (hence ‘null’) in Turkish. The null copula is assumed to exist in sentences with a non-verbal predicative and/or verbal predicates whose Tense/Aspect/Modality (hereafter TAM) is not ‘genuine’ (in Kornfilt’s 1996 terms), in the sense that the verbal form contains cliticization as a whole. To my understanding, the function of the null copula is to mark the sentence as finite and to mark the subject and predicate as “agreeing” with each other. In this account, the ‘genuine’ inflected forms are found only in the definite past tense or the conditional mood, as exemplified in (9). The acute accent in the data indicates word stress:

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| (9) a. al-dí-m | b. al-sá-m |
| al-dí-n | al-sá-n |
| al-dí(-0) | al-sá(-0) |
| al-dí-k | al-sá-k |
| al-dí-níz | al-sa-níz |
| al-dí-lár | al-sa-lár |
| get-Past-Agr. | get-Cond-Agr. |
| ‘I got (it)’, etc. | ‘If I got (it),...’, etc. |

Other TAM properties are illustrated by cliticization, in which clitics begin with the null copula. A ‘Participle’ with the inflected copula, therefore, is followed by a pronominal clitic, as shown in (10). In example (10), the acute accent again indicates word stress, and the number 0 means the null copula:

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| (10) a. al-acág-(0)=ım | b. al-ír-(0)=ım |
| al-acák-(0)=sın | al-ír-(0)=sın |
| al-acák-(0)=0 | al-ír-(0)=0 |
| al-acág-(0)=ız | al-ír-(0)=ız |
| al-acák-(0)=sınız | al-ír-(0)=sınız |
| al-acak-(0)-lár | al-ír-(0)-lar |
| (al-acák-lar) | (al-ır-lár) |
| get-Fut.-(Cop)=Agr | get-Aor-(Cop)=Agr |
| ‘I will get (it)’, etc. | ‘I get (it)’, etc. |

There are several advantages of introducing the ‘null’ copula in Turkish: one of these advantages is that this maintains the default word stress position (i.e., the final syllable) in the language. So the ‘genuine’ inflected forms are found only in the definite past tense or the conditional mood, as seen in (9) above, considering the stress position in the final syllable as well as that in other ordinary words such as *babá* ‘father’, *güzél* ‘beautiful’, and so on. On the other hand, if there is not a primary accent in the final syllable, then the verbal form is complex and therefore it contains at least one clitic. Therefore, as we have seen in example (10), the verbal form contains a participle, followed by the null copula, and a pronominal clitic.

Another advantage of recognizing the null copula in Turkish is that it offers an explanation for why it is possible to produce morpho-syntactic patterns like *gid-iyor mu-sun?* (go-Prog Q-2sg), in which the interrogative clitic appears between TAM and the person. According to Kornfilt (1996), there is a morphological ‘buffer’ between the participle and a pronominal clitic, so it is easy to explain why the interrogative clitic *mi* can occur between these formatives. One other advantage is that it can explain the so-called notion of Suspended Affixation (cf. Lewis 1967), namely that the null copula, which syntactically heads coordinated elements, is followed by the pronominal clitic (see, however, Kabak 2007).

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------|-----|-------------------|
| (11) a. Ben | Japon-um | ve | öğrenci-(0)=yim. |
| I-Nom | Japanese-1sg | and | student-(Cop)-1sg |
| ‘I am Japanese and a student.’ | | | |
| b. Ben | [Japon | ve | öğrenci]-(0)=yim. |
| I-Nom | Japanese | and | student-(Cop)-1sg |
| ‘I am Japanese and a student.’ | | | |

Although several studies such as Kabak (2007) point out that the verbal form immediately before the null copula is not always a participle, the basic idea of the ‘null’

copula is widely accepted (e.g., Sezer 2001; even Kabak 2007 does not deny the null copula). The next section therefore considers whether the ‘null’ copula analysis is applicable to Azerbaijani.

2.3.2 The case of the Azerbaijani null copula

This article’s concern is whether there is the same type of null copula in Azerbaijani, as Kornfilt (1996) suggests. If so, there is another theoretical (and descriptive) problem related to the null copula in Azerbaijani: where and when does the copula exist? In my earlier study (Yoshimura 2018), I argued that the null copula can also be found in Azerbaijani, but that the distribution of the null copula in Azerbaijani is fairly different from that of Turkish: specifically, in Azerbaijani the null copula only exists in sentences where the predicate does not take other copulas such as *-dır* and the auxiliary verb *i-*, and the position of the null copula may not be the same as that of Turkish. Yoshimura (2018) also argues that, by recognizing the null copula in Azerbaijani, it is easy to explain why the copular clitic *-dır* is obligatory in certain verbal forms, although its formal equivalent *-Dir* in Turkish is syntactically optional. For example, in sentences with certain verbal predicative forms, the copular clitic *-dır* is obligatory for the third person forms, as exemplified in (12).

- (12) a. Əli tələbə=dir.
 Ali-Nom student-Cop
 ‘Ali is a student.’
- b. *Əli tələbə.
 Ali-Nom student
 (Attempted reading: ‘Ali is a student.’)
- c. yaz-malı=dır
 write-Nec-Cop
 ‘(S)he must write (something).’
- d. *yaz-malı
 write-Nec
 (Attempted reading: ‘(S)he must write (something).’)
- e. yaz-malı=dır-lar
 write-Nec-(Cop)-3pl
 ‘They must write (something).’
- f. *yaz-malı-lar
 write-Nec-(Cop)-3pl
 (Attempted reading: ‘They must write (something).’)

- g. yaz-acaq=dır
 write-Fut-(Cop)
 '(S)he will write (something).'
- h. yaz-acaq
 write-Fut
 '(S)he will write (something).'

As the examples in (12a) and (12b) show, it is necessary for the third singular nominal predicate to have the copula *-dır*. Likewise, in the necessitative verbal forms in (12c) and (12d), the clitic *-dır* is obligatory. This is quite different from other types of verbal predicates, as shown in (12g): in the third singular form of the FFT, the copula is optional.

One may question whether the copular clitic *-dır* is the third person pronominal clitic rather than the copular clitic which may have some verbal properties such as having finiteness. However, the clitic *-dır* is not actually the third person pronominal clitic, and this is evident from the example in (12h): if it is the third person pronominal, then it is difficult to explain why such forms without this clitic are still grammatical. Additionally, in almost all verbal forms in Azerbaijani, the first or second pronominal clitics are obligatorily realized as in (13), and the examples in (14) demonstrate that the copular clitic *-dır* in Azerbaijani cannot co-occur with another pronominal clitic, meaning that it is not necessary for verbal forms with the first or second pronominal clitic to have the copular clitic *-dır*. What I suggest in Yoshimura (2018) is that it is easy to explain why the copular clitic and the pronominal clitic do not co-occur with each other, by assuming that the null copula is already occurring in nominal sentences and in certain verbal forms like (13) and (14): there is no need to assume multiple copulas in a simple sentence because that would be redundant.

- (13) a. Mən kitab oxu-yúr-(0)=am.
 I-Nom book read-Pres-(Cop)-1sg
 'I am reading a book.'
- b. Sən kitab oxu-yúr-(0)=san.
 I-Nom book read-Pres-(Cop)=2sg
 'You are reading a book.'
- c. Biz kitab oxu-yúr-(0)=uq.
 we-Nom book read-Pres-(Cop)=1pl
 'We are reading a book.'
- d. Siz kitab oxu-yúr-(0)=sunuz.
 you-Nom book read-Pres-(Cop)=2pl
 'You are reading a book.'

- (14) a. Sevil kitab oxu-yur. / *oxu-yur=dur.
 Sevil-Nom book read-Pres read-Pres=Cop
 ‘Sevil is reading a book.’
- b. Mən kitab *oxu-yur=am=dir. / *oxu-yur=dur=am.
 I-Nom book read-Pres=1sg=Cop read-Pres=Cop=1sg
 (Attempted reading: ‘I am definitely reading a book.’)
- c. Sən kitab *oxu-yur=san=dir. / *oxu-yur=dur=san.
 2sg-Nom book read-Pres=2sg=Cop read-Pres=Cop=2sg
 (Attempted reading: ‘You are presumably reading a book.’)

I have also argued in a previous study (Yoshimura 2018) that the Azerbaijani null copula can be found in sentences with the first or second person pronominal clitic, and several verbal types of the third person. The null copula, if any, can only take a pronominal clitic as its syntactic subject, whereas the copula clitic *-dlr* cannot take a tense or aspect suffix, nor any pronominal suffix. This demonstrates that there are three different types of copular words, and they are complementary to each other. The most crucial consequence for the present purposes of this article is that there must be a word that is responsible for determining finiteness in the sentence, even though the distribution of the Azerbaijani null copula may be narrower than that of Turkish. In summary, there can only be one copula, whose form is either the copular clitic *-dlr*, an auxiliary verb *i-*, or ‘null’, in a single sentence in Azerbaijani. Additionally, I will argue in the next section that if we assume this, it would also explain why the FFT form, the main concern in this article, can be used either as a finite form or a non-finite form. To put it briefly, the future-tensed form itself is always non-finite, and it is the null copula which is responsible for finiteness of a sentence in Azerbaijani.

3. Analysis of the FFT form in Azerbaijani

Thus far, we have considered the methodical assumptions for explaining the morpho-syntactic characteristics of Azerbaijani non-finite verbal forms. This section presents an analysis of the future-tensed form, the most complicated word form, in which all factors such as finiteness, a cross-categorical lexeme-class, and the distinction between derivation and inflection must be incorporated. In contrast, the morphological characteristics of the perfective non-finite form, for example, are not as complicated as those of the future-tensed form, because the nominal person suffix does not attach to that form. Thus *get-miş-əm* (go-Perf-1sg ‘I have been to (somewhere)’) is possible, but **get-miş-im* (go-Perf-1sg, attempted meaning: ‘my having been to (somewhere)’) is not allowed because the perfective participle

cannot have nominal properties, so any nominal personal suffix listed in Table 1 cannot be attached to this participle.

The first problem we have seen above is exemplified again in (15), in which the FFT form functions as the finite verbal predicate in (15a), while the participle modifies the noun as a non-finite participle in (15b), both italicized by me:

- (15) a. O, sabah məktəb-ə *ged-əcək*(-0)(=0).
 3sg tomorrow school-Dat go-Fut-(Cop)-(3sg)
 ‘(S)he will go to school tomorrow.’
- b. Saat-da 4 min km/saat sürət-lə *ged-əcək* qatar
 many-Cop 4 thousand km hour speed-Com go-Fut train
 gəl-ir
 come-Pres
 ‘A train that runs at a speed of 4000 km an hour is coming.’

In (15a), the word *gedəcək* are realized as a finite verb form, while in (15b) the word *gedəcək* is a non-finite verb form that modifies the noun *qatar*. The difference between them becomes clear if we look at their morpho-syntactic properties, as described in the previous section. First, the null copula immediately follows the future-tensed form *gedəcək* in (15a), followed by the third singular form which happens not to be realized in Azerbaijani (see Table 1 above). As mentioned earlier, it is the null copula that determines the finiteness in sentences like (15a), so it is possible to analyze both the future-tensed forms in (15a) and (15b) as realized forms of the lexeme GEDƏCƏK, which is an independent lexeme of the verbal lexeme, i.e., GED-, as they both maintain shared properties of both similar meaning (which can be described as ‘going’) and similar form (i.e., both lexemes share the morpheme {*ged-*}). The future-tensed form can take a nominal personal suffix if necessary, so in the earlier example, in (6a), we can say that the participle form *De-yəcəy-im* is inflected for the first person singular, and that it is a realization of the participle lexeme DEYƏCƏK.

The lexical category of the FFT forms can be explained as discussed in the previous section: there is no need to employ redundant new categories like ‘verbal noun’ or ‘nominal and adjectival verb’. Instead, a cross-categorical taxonomy can be applied, as demonstrated in Figure 2 above, so the participles with the suffixes listed in (3f) and (3h) can be considered to extend over three general categories, i.e., nouns, adjectives, and verbs.

Finally, to conclude the analysis, although there are three distinct types of tense in Azerbaijani, i.e., past, present, and future, the mechanisms of their realization differ from each other. Let us consider the examples in (16):

- (16) a. Mən kino-ya get-di-m.
 I-Nom cinema-Dat go-Past-1sg
 'I went to the cinema.'
- b. Mən iki dəfə kino-ya get-miş=əm.
 I-Nom two time cinema-Dat go-Perf=1sg
 'I have been to the cinema twice.'
- c. Mən kino-ya ged-ir-(0)=əm.
 I-Nom cinema-Dat go-Pres-(Cop)=1sg
 'I go to the cinema.'
- d. Mən kino-ya ged-əcəy-(0)=əm.
 I-Nom cinema-Dat go-Fut-(Cop)=1sg
 'I will go to the cinema.'

Above all, the definite past form and the present tense form are thought to be realizations of the verbal lexeme GET-, but the perfective aspectual form *get-miş-əm* and the FFT form *ged-əcəy-əm* are not: they are realized forms of the respective participle lexemes (i.e., *GETMIŞ* and *GEDƏCƏK*) rather than the same verbal lexeme as the other tense types (i.e., the past and present tense). There may be a null copula in the present tense, but the form {*ged-ir*} is still analyzed as a realization of the verbal lexeme GET-, because there is no corresponding non-finite form: unlike other verb forms like the future-tensed form and perfective form, there are not any cases in which the present-tensed form is used as participle that modifies any noun or is itself a nominal.

4. Conclusion

In this article, I have presented an analysis that explains the morpho-syntactic properties of the FFT form, regardless of whether it is finite or non-finite on the surface, assuming that there is a null copula which determines the finiteness of the verbal complex. I have also argued that if the FFT form is a realization of the participle, then the distribution of the tense-aspect forms in Azerbaijani happens to be parallel to each other, but the forms of each tense/aspect are realized in quite different ways.

Abbreviations

| | | | |
|------|------------|------|--------------------|
| Abl | ablative | Conj | conjunctive |
| Acc | accusative | Cont | contrastive clitic |
| Caus | causative | Conv | converb |
| Com | comitative | Cop | copula |

| | | | |
|------|--------------------|---------|-----------------------|
| DerJ | derived adjectival | Perf | perfect |
| DerV | derived verbal | Plu | plural |
| Fut | future | Ref | reflexive |
| Gen | genitive | Q | interrogative clitic |
| Inf | infinitive | RepPast | reported past |
| Loc | locative | SubjP | subjective participle |
| Nec | Necessitative | VN | verbal noun |
| Neg | negative | 1sg | 1st singular |
| Nom | nominative | 2sg | 2nd singular |
| Opt | optative | 3sg | 3rd singular |
| Part | participle | 1pl | 1st plural |
| Pass | passive | 2pl | 2nd plural |
| Past | definite past | 3pl | 3rd plural |

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